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The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the [redacted] of Gold

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International Socialist Congress

Over 800 Delegates Qualified---More than a Thousand in Attendance from All Parts of the World.

Report by Rev. Edward Ellis Carr.

It is astonishing to the comrades in charge at Stuttgart to greet more than twice as many delegates as ever attended a previous International Socialist Congress. The hotels are overcrowded. Men are glad to sleep in writing rooms, bathrooms—anywhere they can get innkeep[illegible] to place a bed. In great and beautiful Liederhalle, which seats about three thousand, it is difficult to seat the large Congress at tables and many delegates stand in order to get nearer to hear. The American delegation is fortunate in being seated near the front.

The enthusiasm is tremendous. All preliminary meetings were crowded and three sets of guards now try to keep all but delegates from the main hall, so that there may be room for business. The opening session with the welcome address of Bebel, the magnificent singing and general courage and comradeship was sublime. On Sunday afternoon 30,000 people th[illegible]ed the park at Cannstadt to hear Bebel, Sing[illegible] Jaures, Vandervelde, Hilquit, Simons and others proclaim the principles of Socialism from six pulpits widely separated, which were richly decorated with silk flags of various colors. Sunday night a really "grand" concert was given in Liederhalle by distinguished German soloists, a large male chorus and a superb orchestra.

Beginning of Business

Monday morning the numerous national sections organized and appointed their members of the general commissions. My lot fell in the Commission on Militarism, which was very pleasing to me, as the commission, composed of about 150 delegates, contained most of the leading men of all countries. Bebel, of Germany; Jaures, of France; Ferri, of Italy; Vandervelde, of Belgium, etc. Four resolutions were introduced. Herve's decrying all national patriotism, declaring for the obliteration of national boundaries and demanding that the proletariat oppose all wars by agitation, parliamentary action, general strikes and insurrection. The Voillant resolution, endorsed by the French Socialist conference, is milder in tone than Herve's, recognized national bonds but urges that all wars be resisted by the working classes by every possible means "even to the general strike and insurrection." The Guesde resolution expresses only general principles, stating that wars are a natural and essential result of capitalism and will end with it. That to concentrate our agitation against war would distract from the regular Socialist propaganda and so prolong capitalism. We should press our political campaign, get into the parliaments and refuse to vote for the war budgets. The Bebel resolution, endorsed by the large German delegation, is quite general in terms, showing the relation of capitalism and militarism, urges agitation against war and favors all means of preventing it, *but does not specify any means* for fear of the persecution of the German government. All four resolutions demand the decrease of imperial armies and the arming of the citizens as soldiers.

The Great Debate

The debate was worth crossing the ocean to hear. Herve is a typical Frenchman. Dark, ruddy skin, rich brown hair, luxuriant mustache and goatee, blue eyes, well [illegible]t wiry, clad in a close-fitting blouse coat with clerical collar and with all the *sangfroid*, wit, humor, eloquence and *gestures* for which the French are noted, he delivered an able, scathing, fiery oration which almost swept the opponents off their feet.

Bebel is doubtless the most popular and influential Socialist now living. He is clearly Saxon. His mild blue eyes, face somewhat faded with age, grey hair which parts itself in the middle unaided and [illegible] trimmed beard do not mark him as the ma[illegible] power he is. His speech was calm but earnest, his gestures few. His blue eyes looked straight into those of his audience and he plead as if mighty issues were at stake, reminding one of an earnest old evangelist pleading for young lives to consecrate themselves to God.

Jaures the Orator

Many speeches were made and among them my voice was lifted in favor of disarmament and against an armed people, but the great speech was by Jaures, who is probably the greatest pleader in the world. He looks like a stolid German rather than the fiery Frenchman he is. Medium height, heavy set, plain full beard, dull complexion, brown eyes and short cut hair, slightly sprinkled with grey. But when in platform action he is like a battleship for force, fire and violent activity.

Beginning with mild voice, genial manner and suave gestures, he soon grows earnest and forgets all about voice and gesture. His big fore finger now comes up and pokes into his audience the thoughts he utters as a gardener sometimes makes way for seed. Later that terrible finger pounds like a flail, prods like a goad, or thrusts like a sword, and woe be to any bubble of false reasoning that comes in its way. Now the business is too urgent to be expressed by one voice, though grown stronger and one hand; therefore his left hand comes to the rescue. Now both forefingers point, both hands are raised aloft, spread before him or flung down with terrific force. Now one hand rests while the other works and now they relieve each other. The old-fashioned Methodist preacher "is not in it" with Jaures.

And all this time his argument, wit, fire, invective and *magnetism* are gathering force until his audience is swept as with a storm by laughter, logic and deep feeling. His face is red, sweat drops from hair and beard and the great veins swell out upon his sturdy neck. He struggles as a Titan with his audience for the victory over them, and generally wins.

But in this case his task is too great to carry through without some compromise with the large German delegation which dare not consent to his resolution for fear of disastrous persecution from the government. And as several nationalities including the United States are protesting strenuously against the advice to insurrection and the declaration for an armed nation, it is likely these statements will be greatly modified before the report is adopted.

Against Modern Colonization

Through German influence the majority report on the Colonial Question made too much concession to modern commercial and imperial colonial schemes and was by a decisive vote of the Congress amended by the adoption of the minority report, which makes the resolution read as follows:

"The Congress is of opinion that the policy of capitalist colonial policy, by its very nature, must lead to enslavement and compulsory labor or to the extermination of the native population of the colonial territories.

"The civilizing mission, to which capitalist society appeals, serves only as a cover for a burning passion for conquest and exploitation. Only with the achievement of the Socialist society will it be possible for all peoples to develop themselves to a complete civilization.

"Capitalist colonial policy, instead of increasing the productive forces, by the very fact that it enslaves and pauperizes the natives as well as the damage which it inflicts by war, destroys the natural riches of the countries in which it plants its methods. It renders slower or hinders thereby the very development of commerce and of the sale of the industrial products of the civilized states.

"The Congress condemns the barbaric methods of capitalist colonization and demands in the interest of the development of the productive forces, a policy which guarantees the peaceful development of civilization and places the natural riches at the disposal of the entire humanity.

"In reaffirmation of the Paris (1900) and Amsterdam (1904) resolutions, the Congress at any rate repudiates colonization, as at present carried on, since being of a capitalist character, it has no other aim but to conquer new countries, and to subjugate their populations in order to exploit them mercilessly for the benefit of an insignificant minority, while increasing the burden of the proletariat at home.

"The Congress as an enemy of all exploitation of man by man, and the defender of all oppressed without distinction of race, condemns this policy of robbery and conquest, this shameless application of the right of the strong trampling under foot the rights of the vanquished races; and further states that this colonial system increases the danger of international complications and war, thus making heavier the financial burdens for navy and army.

"From the financial point of view, the colonial expenses, both those which arise from Imperialism and those which are necessary to further the economic evolution of the colonies must be borne by those who profit from the spoliations of the colonies and derive their wealth therefrom.

"The Congress declares finally that it is the duty of the Socialist members of Parliament to oppose without compromise in their respective Parliaments the regime of exploitation and serfdom which prevails in all colonies of to-day, to exact reforms for the amelioration of the conditions of the natives, to safeguard their rights by preventing their exploitation and enslavement, and to work with every means at their disposal for the education of these races to independence."

British Delegate Driven Out

Delegate Quelch, of England, has been ordered from the country by the German government for making [illegible]complimentary remarks about the Peace Conference at The Hague while discussing the Colonial Question in the Congress here. He was allowed ten hours in which to leave. He goes early in the morning. This shows the strict and terrible censure under which the lovers of liberty in Germany labor. But he remarks that *ten hours* is more time than the Colorado miners were given when deported from their homes and loved ones at the behest of the mine owners.

Vandervelde, the Belgian, whose name is so familiar [illegible] readers of Socialist literature, parts his hair in the middle—the parts being about six inches apart; which causes the upper part of his head to appear as a part of his face. What hair remains is clipped so close that his head seems almost bald all over. Nevertheless he is a man of very prepossessing appearance, being in middle life, vigorous and bright looking. He affects a black mustache and goatee, dresses trim as an old maid and seems always posing, especially when he talks. His language is correct and forcible, even eloquent, but his incessant gestures seem too mechanical, too correct and studied. However, he is a man of great influence in the Congress and in the movement generally and is a most friendly and fair-minded fellow.

Voillant (pronounced Vi-yan) is not noted for personal beauty. His form is too squat, his nose too large and protruding like a round potato, and his shaggy grey beard gives him an appearance quite rough and rustic. But he seems a genial spirit and certainly he is a scholar and thinker. He talks calmly, directly, logically, compactly and unsentimentally. His speeches are hard to translate as he talks, for they deal in no superfluities that may be more briefly expressed. He is the French encyclopedia boiled down and his quiet facts and arguments cut like chilled steel.

All speeches are delivered in or translated into English, French and German, which makes the proceedings slow. But a few men are able to speak in all three tongues. And owing to the preponderating numbers of the German and French speaking peoples the English have a hard time to hear their translations, for, naturally, after each section has heard its own translation it makes more or less noise, and as none of the English speaking peoples are on the continent and closely associated for good or ill with the warring tribes of Europe, there is a tendency to ignore the English speaking peoples, especially upon matters that seem just now to apply more particularly to the continent. But it is a world-wide Socialist Congress, not a mere party caucus, and the English peoples succeeded in trimming out the imperialism of the others pretty thoroughly. It is the straight-forward application of Socialist principles to the vital issues of the age that the Congress is after, rather than the mere expression of shifting expediencies. This is particularly shown in the resolution on Colonization and in the report on Militarism, the latter coming from the committee I served on. The battle of the English, Swedish and American delegates especially won the clear cut anti-military expression here following, which, the result of five days' able debate, was adopted with complete unanimity. It is composed of what was left after the battle of six or seven different resolutions:

Militarism and International Conflicts

"The Congress confirms the resolutions passed by the former International Congresses against militarism and imperialism, and it again declares that the fight against militarism cannot be separated from the Socialist struggle of classes as a whole.

"Wars between capitalistic states are as a rule the consequence of their competition in the world's market, for every state is eager not only to preserve its markets, but also to conquer new ones, principally by the subjugation of foreign nations and the confiscation of their lands. These wars are further engendered by the unceasing and ever increasing armaments of militarism, which is one of the principal instruments for maintaining the predominance of the bourgeois classes and for subjugating the working classes politically as well as economically.

"The breaking out of wars is further favored by the national prejudices systematically cultivated in the interest of the reigning classes, in order to turn off the masses of the proletariat from the duties of their class and of international solidarity.

"Wars are therefore essential to capitalism; they will not cease until the capitalistic system has been done away with, or until the sacrifices in men and money required by the technical development of the military system and the revolt against the armaments have become so great as to compel the nations to give up this system.

"Especially the working classes from which the soldiers are chiefly recruited, and which have to bear the greater part of the financial burdens, are by nature opposed to war, because it is irreconcilable with their aim: the creation of a new economic system founded on a Socialistic basis and realizing the solidarity of the nations.

"The Congress therefore considers it to be the duty of the working classes, and especially of their parliamentary representatives, to fight with all their might against the military and naval armaments, not to grant any money for such purposes, pointing out at the same time the class character of bourgeois society and the real motives for keeping up the antagonisms, between nations, and further to imbue the young people of the working classes with the Socialist spirit of universal brotherhood and with class consciousness.

"The Congress considers that the democratic organization of national defense to replace standing armies will prove an effective means for making aggressive wars impossible, and for overcoming national antagonisms.

"The International cannot lay down rigid formulas for the action of the working classes against militarism, as this action must of necessity differ according to the time and the conditions of the various national parties. But it is its duty to intensify and to co-ordinate as much as possible the efforts of the working classes against militarism and against war.

"In fact, since the Brussels Congress, the proletariat in its untiring fight against militarism, by refusing to grant the expenses for military and naval armaments, by democratising the army, has had recourse with increasing vigor and success to the most varied methods of action in order to prevent the breaking out of wars, or to end them, or to make use of the agitation of the social body caused by a war for the emancipation of the working classes: as for instance the understanding arrived at between the English and the French trade unions after the Fachoda crisis, which served to assure peace and to re-establish friendly relations between England and France; the action of the Socialist parties in the German and French parliaments during the Morocco crisis; the public demonstrations organized for the same purpose by the French and German Socialists; the common action of the Austrian and Italian Socialists who met at Trieste in order to ward off a conflict between the two states; further the vigorous intervention of the Socialist workers of Sweden in order to prevent an attack against Norway; and lastly, the heroic sacrifices and fights of the masses of Socialist workers and peasants of Russia and Poland rising against the war provoked by the government of the Czar, in order to put an end to it and to make use of the crisis for the emancipation of their country and of the working classes. All these efforts show the growing power of the proletariat and its increasing desire to maintain peace by its energetic intervention.

"The action of the working classes will be the more successful, the more the mind of the people has been prepared by an unceasing propaganda, and the more the Labor parties of the different countries have been stimulated and drawn together by the International.

"The Congress further expresses its conviction that under the pressure exerted by the proletariat the practice of honest arbitration in all disputes will take the place of the futile attempts of the bourgeois governments, and that in this way the people will be assured the benefit of universal disarmament which will allow the enormous resources of energy and money wasted, by armaments and by wars, to be applied to the progress of civilization.

"In case of war being imminent, the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for this purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious, and which must naturally vary according to the acuteness of the struggle of classes, and to the general political conditions.

"In case war should break out notwithstanding, they shall be bound to intervene for its being brought to a speedy end, and to employ all their forces for utilizing the economical and political crisis created by the war, in order to rouse the masses of the people and to hasten the downbreak of the predominance of the capitalist class."

Union Labor and Socialism

One of the most important committees was that on Unionism and Socialism; and although the delegates of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States and the delegate of the Industrial Workers, led by De Leon and Hazelwood, made a strong effort in the committee to get the resolution in harmony with their views, and presented a characteristic minority report to the Congress, the majority report was adopted almost unanimously and is as follows:

I

"To enfranchise the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, political, and economic serfdom, the political and the economic struggle are alike necessary. If the activity of the Socialist Party is exercised more particularly in the domain of the political struggle of the proletariat, that of the Unions displays itself in the domain of the economic struggle of the workers. The unions and the party have therefore an equally important task to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action. But there is an ever-widening domain in the proletarian struggle of the classes in which they can only reap advantages by concerted action and by cooperation between the party and the trade unions.

"As a consequence the proletarian struggle will be carried on more successfully and with more important results if the relations between the unions and the party are strengthened without infringing the necessary unity of the trade unions.

"The Congress declares that it is the interest of the working class in every country that close and permanent relations should be established between the unions and the party.

"It is the duty of the party and of the trade unions to render moral support the one to the other and to make use only of those means which may help forward the emancipation of the proletariat. When divergent opinions arise between the two organizations as to the opportunity of certain tactics they should arrive by discussion at an agreement.

"The unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers unless a thoroughly socialist spirit inspires their policy. It is the duty of the party to help the unions in their work of raising the workers and of ameliorating their social conditions. In its parliamentary action, the party must vigorously support the demands of the unions.

"The Congress declares that the development of the capitalist system of production, the increased concentration of the means of production, the growing alliances of employers, the increasing dependence of particular trades upon the totality of bourgeois society would reduce trade unions to impotency if, concerning themselves about nothing more than trade interests, they took their stand on corporate selfishness and admitted the theory of harmony of interests between labor and capital.

"The Congress is of the opinion that the unions will be able more successfully to carry on their struggle against exploitation and oppression, in proportion as their organizations are more unified, as their benefit system is improved, as the funds necessary for their struggle are better supplied, and as their members gain a clearer conception of economic relations and conditions and are inspired by the socialist ideal with greater enthusiasm and devotion.

II

"The Congress invites all the trade unions that accept the conditions laid down by the Brussels Conference of 1899, ratified by the Paris Congress 1900, to be represented at the International Congresses and to keep themselves in relation with the International Socialist Bureau. It charges the latter to enter into relations with the International Secretariat of Trade Unions at Berlin so as to exchange information respecting working-class organization and the workers movement.

(Continued on page 8.)

The Ethical Tendencies of the New Social Ideals

BY GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

The theoretical basis of the ethical life may not be practical in popular opinion, and yet we are all more or less deeply influenced by those scientific or intellectual considerations which support or condemn the grounds of our moral actions. While it is true that the great majority of men and women are guided more by social or inherited considerations than by those of pure reason, we are repeatedly given to discussing why we should follow one line of action rather than another, whether the meat trust should be brought under strict subjection to the national government or whether the railroads should be compelled to obey the law in making rates.

Much depends on what our theories are, even if they are inherited rather than thought out by careful experiment and criticism. All the more powerful are they if they are social in their origin and sanctions rather than individual in their determinations. It is not time wasted, therefore, to consider some of the grounds of our ethical opinions and motives. The conduct of no one may be changed, but it is helpful to know why we think as we do, and even more desirable in some respects that we should intelligently understand why others differ from us radically as to beliefs we regard as important. While we act from inherited convictions we may be acting wisely, but not always intelligently. That is, what we do may rest on grounds of the ripest human experience, but individually we may not know what it is which justifies and explains our conduct.

We have assumed that in the beginning men lived independently, each male by himself, ruling over his wife and children. Perhaps some scientific work has given us a picture of early man so living at the head of his family, and the customs of ourang-outangs or other higher mammals have proven that this picture is correctly painted. In fact, the sketch is from the imagination, and has no basis in historic reality. The theory of the social contract is no longer acceptable in any form, and the independent individual of the early time had no existence. The doctrine of natural rights, personal freedom, and freedom of contract, based on this theoretical first man who had no reality in actual life, may be called in question because the basis on which they rest has no practical existence.

When we study early man in the light of present-day knowledge we find that he was a member of a group always and everywhere. The cave-dwellings which have been explored in many parts of the world, the kitchen-middens by many a sea-coast, the lake-dwellings in Switzerland and elsewhere, the cromlechs which early men erected to commemorate their dead, the traditions of the most advanced peoples, as well as the customs and institutions of all existing savage races indicate, in the most unmistakable manner, that early men lived in clan communities, which united them by ties of blood, descent from a common mother and then from a common father.

These communities arose instinctively, naturally, as the result of human needs. Their source is to be found in the community life of animals, from which was inherited the consciousness of kind, the profound sentiment which makes fellowship a necessity. The evidence strongly convinces us to-day that man came up from the animal world, not because he struggled and fought more vigorously than other mammals, but because he inherited the social life of many weaker animals, which gave them a vast advantage over the stronger but less friendly kings of the forest. What lifted the animals into man was sociality, comradeship, capacity for mutual protection, greater care for the young, the development of higher means of communication, the advance of brain structure and mental power as a consequence.

Man began his career as a social being, in groups or communities. When he knew himself to be man, became conscious of his mental powers, recognized the need for family and community life, these already existed. That they were already fully established when he became aware of their meaning was what made it possible for him to think their existence and to realize their worth. He was a social being from the first because he had inherited from his forbears of the woods and the prairies the passion and the sentiment of community life. He was beset by heartache, nostalgia, the moment he separated himself from his clan. It was to him all things —mother, religion, morality, life itself, for it made him what he was.

It may be that it is not wise to say that anything is impossible, but with this qualification it may be declared without hesitation that it was impossible for man to have begun his career, and to have passed along the evolutionary road history discloses, by any other means than the community life which lifted him out of animality, through savagery, into civilization. No other form of political life could have started man on his career except the primitive communism we find at the beginnings of all human communities. Communism has been more universal, and has continued for a much longer period, and has produced greater results, than any other form of social or political organization known to man.

The supreme triumph of giving man his manhood is due to community conditions and achievements. The next greatest achievement, that important above all other inventions wrought out by man,—the acquisition of language,—was also due to the clan life and its social opportunities and requirements. It cannot be assumed that language was invented by a Moses, an Archimedes, a Newton, or a Marconi; but it was a social achievement, the direct result of common human needs and capacities. It was socially invented, as were all the greatest human accomplishments, as song, poetry, architecture, religion, morality. When men had come into an individualistic conception of life they invented the names of Manu, Moses, Solon, and the others, to account for the origin of ethical codes; but conduct existed long before these men could have lived, and its law and its sanctions were found in the life of the community itself.

It may seem of no importance whether men thousands of years ago, in the morning-time of human history, lived in one way or another; but we should not forget that our whole American theory of natural rights, individual initiative, personal freedom, and the rest, has its basis in a conception of primitive man which has no scientific foundations whatever. No such man as that theory assumes ever did or ever could have existed. Probably many persons will assume that it is of no importance whether he lived or not, because the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is fully established in our law and in our habits of mind. Nevertheless, the moment any one begins to defend these political theories he tacitly or implicitly goes back to the isolated, independent, freedom-loving man at the sources of political custom and habit. He must be assumed to have existed, and yet all evidence we have combines to prove that he did not exist. Does the theory go down with the departure of this imaginary man of the political theorists? Undoubtedly it does, though custom causes us to cling to it in defiance of evidence. We are wedded to our idols of political liberty and individual initiative as if they had a real source in something actually existing on earth, in the heavens, or perhaps below the earth.

Natural selection, however, we are told, assures us of these rights history does not guarantee us. It might be well to remember that Darwin's theory was the direct result of the economic methods of thinking which grew out of the natural rights political doctrine. In natural selection the individualists have found great comfort and assurance. It has made them bold for asserting rights, defiant of social merits, free to act as their own advantage may seem to dictate, and ready to preach that the strong man is to make his way to the front at whatever result to those weaker than himself. It has set the great nations at the task of dominating all peoples weaker than themselves, by carrying their imperial sway wherever conquest for rule or trade can be made by force and blood. They are very careful not to say much about the newer evolutionary theories, which make natural selection of less importance in the life of man. Does the law of the survival of fittest act as a guiding principle in human development?

Natural selection operates in full measure only where social life has not come into true expression. Animals that depend on individual activity for food, shelter, and protection from enemies are subject to this law; but those in which the community life exists are not under its full operation. In the clan community there is protection for the young and weak, the sick are fed and nursed, provision is made for the future by means of food supplies, shelter is secured, and the whole life of the individual is changed because of his membership in the clan. When we understand the life of the clan, its closeness of sympathy and fellowship, its mutual strength of interest and service, we realize that no process of natural selection is possible between its members. Competition does not exist, and its presence would at once make the clan impossible. That the clan has existed through hundreds of thousands of years, that it has lifted man from animality to civilization, that one-third or one-fourth of all men now living continue under its social and ethical forms, that it persists in the form of the mir among millions of peasants in Russia, and in many other advanced nations it continues in some kind of survival, proves that natural selection did not operate within its limits.

In so far as natural selection continued among men it was between clans, classes, tribes or nations, and not between individuals. The fact of social existence, social dependence, ethical standards, political institutions gave to the operation of this law a new form or banished it entirely. If the biologists were also ethnologists they would have learned this fact, as would the politicians if they were also sociologists. Competition is not the law of human life. Man is not made strong by fighting his kind, whatever may be said by militarists and political theorists. The process of human evolution is one of combination, social co-operation, political activity, vigor of institutional life. No normal man but is member of family, municipality, state, business corporation, social organization or other institution which brings him into immediate co-operation with one or more of his fellows. These combinations do not limit his freedom, but enable him to find it and to use it wisely. They develop his manhood, give him power to work with human forces, and vastly enlarge all his individual gifts.

Man modifies his environment and escapes the chief effects of the struggle for existence. The fact that acquired characters are not inherited modifies essentially the law of natural selection, and shows that the hereditary force is one of racial and not of individual acquisition. That we inherit only through the germ-plasm, not through the soma, indicates that it is the typal acquisitions which are passed on from generation to generation. To the same effect is the law of mutation, which goes to show that accumulated racial power suddenly manifests itself in new species. Whatever the final position taken by these newer theories they move vigorously in the direction of modifying the law of natural selection. This is of practical importance because natural selection tends to defend the theory of natural rights, while the others move towards a more social conception of human forces,

The law of natural selection carried everything before it for a time, and it was used to account for every form of organic life, and all which has developed as the result of it. Wider research, full recognition of the implications of this law, has modified it in many directions. It remains the primary biological law, but it cannot be accepted for all life-conditions. Because it operates as between parts of the same organism, because it brings two animals into fierce competition for the same food supply, because it destroys those who have not secured immunity against disease, does not prove that it controls in determining the social or the intellectual life of man.

(Continued in next issue.)

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Life's Mission

The dream of wealth will but deceive
  And fill my heart with care,
If selfishly I seek to gain,
  Nor with my brethren share
The pleasures God has given man,
  Life's joyousness to give.
Why should I, while my brothers starve,
  Upon their earnings, live?

Should I forget the brotherhood
  That should be in our hearts,
And feel another's suffering
  No grief, to me, imparts?
Are we not all God's family,
  To love and care for all?
Then how can we ignore the cares
  That, on each other, fall?

We must reach out the helping hand,
  The sympathetic heart,
And join our lives with that sweet bond
  That never drives apart;
While love and charity shall rule
  And make our lives ideal;
We then shall know the joy of life,
  Its mission, learn to feel.

Martha Shepard Lippincott.

How to Get 50,000

Dear Comrades—That THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST circulation is limited to so small a number is indeed a pity. Instead of a paltry 50,000 for which you strive, it well deserves a million. Its noble purpose, its able contributors and nominal price, together with the imperative need for such a paper, should make it the first favorite among "those who love righteousness."

A comparison of its intrinsic value with that of periodicals enjoying the widest circulation is vastly in its favor and the size of its circulation well illustrates the inequalities of our capitalistic system. And yet the exponents of this very system presume to teach that "the doors of opportunity swing wide to those who but push;" while he who eschews iniquitous practices—deceit, dishonesty in every form—and squares himself with the laws of God and man progresses only with laborious effort and very slowly; so that discouragement claims him before success is reached.

You appeal to your subscribers for a "lift," in your latest issue, and you put seven questions to them. This is an application of co-operation and under a co-operative system I am pleased to believe would meet with overwhelming returns, but unfortunately we are yet enthralled by capitalism, and it does seem that its tools or some modification or improved form of them could be used to advantage in boosting THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST'S circulation. There are "agencies" who would undertake to put your circulation at any figure desired. Any advertising expert can explain the plan to be pursued. Could you not find some way of imitating, that is consistent with your ideals. We cannot always work with the tools of our own choice, but if desired results are accomplished, who shall much care about the tools used? The capitalist has no scruples about tools. Both the church and the saloon are made to serve his purposes.

I may not be of assistance to you, but I venture to say that in advertising you may find an ally of incalculable power. Perhaps, for reasons, you will say that advertising or the necessary funds therefore are not available. Then it will not be plain that it must remain so.

Hoping that you will soon find some effective method, whereby your glorious message may be placed in a million American homes every week, I am, yours for the revolution,

George Stubblebine.

This is a good suggestion. There is nothing like advertising. But we have not the money. If any comes in for that purpose it can be used to the very best advantage.—J. O. B.

A Minister's Whole Duty

"The prime business of the true minister * * * is to fit men for heaven," says a minister of the gospel.

The one great thing that Moses did to make the children of Israel a religious nation was to change their environment from that of slaves to that of free men, enjoying the full product of their own toil. A great part of Moses' law was purely economic and is in advance of most of our law to-day.

Jesus amplified the law and the brotherhood idea. Letter was replaced by spirit and all mankind were included. A great part of his teaching was economic as well as eschatological and while he did not plan a second exodus to change environment, he taught us to pray, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth," and we read the economic attempt of the church at Jerusalem to carry out his teaching, an attempt so matter-of-course that it is referred to scantily or dimly (to us) otherwise. In any case a change of environment is foretold repeatedly, prayed for earnestly, hoped for fervently, and must come soon. And how can a "true minister" better do his Master's will and work than by striving to answer his own prayers and doing his utmost to change sinful environment right here to "fit men for heaven?" We don't fit our own children for upright and just lives by an apprenticeship in a bad quarter of the city, and we cannot escape the spirit of His law when we allow any one's children to grow up in sinful environment that we, society, can change. To fit vegetables for market, we provide good environment, to fit men for heaven, the minister must do the same or learn too late,

These ought ye to have done
And not left the other undone.

"A new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness," is all the Socialist asks; if he also be a Christian that is the greater reason why he should work for it earnestly and prayerfully.—E. Francis Atwood.

Comrades of the South

Rev. Wm. A. Ward, of Henderson, Ky., and who is treasurer of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, is planning to lecture on Socialism in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky.

All comrades in these States who would like to engage Comrade Ward's services, please write him at once so his route can be made up. He would be glad also to assist in organizing Fellowship Centers.

Comrade Ward has been working hard for the cause and is now suffering personal loss on account of his great zeal for Socialism.

He is an able man and has the hearty endorsement of the Christian Socialist.

A Pilgrimage from London

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS.

The first undertaking I had in mind for London was to go on a pilgrimage, and the way lay southerly into Surrey, parallel indeed to that Pilgrim's Way along which men went in Chaucer's time to Canterbury shrine. My halting place lay on the high commons of Surrey, a wholesome region of forest, thicket, furze, bracken and pasture, where Richard Heath, the author of "The Captive City of God," has his home. The two mile walk from the railroad station of Oxted was delightful, for the rose-bowered cottages by the roadside, for the quaint antique hamlet of Limpsfield Common nestling where the upland breaks down into the valley, and for the green-turfed upland itself, swept by unchecked breezes. As I descried the gentle, white-haired figure of the prophet (for so he is to us) approaching, I felt as Christian might on so meeting Interpreter; and such a glow as Christian's was mine during the hours we conversed together.

Mr. Heath lives with his daughter, an artist whose paintings are prized in France, in a red-tiled cottage which stands at the lower edge of a hanging forest and looks over the old-fashioned garden down upon the widespread green valley, and across to one of those long hills of lovely curves called the North Downs. It is along that very ridge that the ancient Pilgrim's Way lay. Mr. Heath took me to the upper room where he reads and writes. Upon his table I noticed a pile of well-worn copies of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, and a French book which he is engaged in translating. It was none other than the recently printed French version of Herman Kutter's striking work, "They Must," of which the readers of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST have heard something, and will hear more before long.

I had the privilege of seeing the manuscript of a work which Mr. Heath has nearly finished, and which bears the title, "Christ and the Travail of Humanity." In this book Mr. Heath shows that all down the centuries there has persisted, behind and below, the official worldly Christianity, a working-class Christianity, faithful to the working-class consciousness of Jesus himself. The theme brought to mind an immortal passage from Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, which reads thus:

"Knowest thou that '*Worship of Sorrow*'? The Temple thereof, founded some eighteen centuries ago, now lies in ruins, overgrown with jungle, the habitation of doleful creatures: nevertheless, venture forward; in a low crypt, arched out of falling fragments, thou findest the Altar still there, and its sacred Lamp perennially burning."

Mr. Heath has the inestimable comfort of having children who are at one with him in the Socialist mind; in fact, it was his daughters who helped him to the logical theory of Socialism. And so the three gathered together at tea that afternoon spoke without reservation and with the deepest common interest of our high theme. Then Mr. Heath set me on my way toward the railroad, walking with me up the shadowed winding path through the woods, then across the green by which stand the old black windmill and the low cottages of Limpsfield Chart, then as far as the brink of the upland, where we parted, he giving me messages of love to those brethren whom I hope to meet in France and in Switzerland, and speaking with affection of two who had visited him from America—Leighton Williams and the lamented Ernest Crosby.

The Baptist Special

We announced in the last issue of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST that we are planning to get out a special edition to circulate as far as possible, especially among the Baptists. We have already been promised some excellent articles and are looking for some more. If you know a strong writer of the Baptist church who is a Socialist, urge him to give us his best. Also send us his name and address.

In the meantime we would like to have all who are interested send for bundle orders, or at least indicate how many copies you desire, so we may know how many to print.

We depend on you to help make this edition effective. It should go into every Baptist minister's hands and into the homes of thousands of church members. Let us hear from you with any suggestion for this great edition and also send in your orders.

On Foreign Shores

(Editorial Itinerary By E. E. C.)

For twenty-four hours we steamed along the English shore, nearly always in sight of it and sometimes near enough to see clearly the neat houses of stone and brick, the forest-fringed hills, the green hedgerows and the waving wheat, oats and rye ripening in the fields. The trimness of field and town, especially on the pretty Isle of Wight, were quite noticeable and pleasing to us of the wasteful, hasty, inartistic West. The sight of the famous "tight little isle" of England, particularly of Hastings, where William the Conqueror won an empire in one bloody day, brought to memory many historic events. The interest one feels in European scenes is magnified by the fact that one is constantly looking *through* the visible present to the thrilling events of the past.

A Glimpse of France

At 5 p. m. Friday, Aug. 16, we entered the deep water harbor of Bologne Sur Mer (Bologne by the Sea) to land passengers for Paris. As the celebrated city came into view we marked first the victorious monument of Napoleon outlined against the sky at the hilltop, the tall dome of the large cathedral, the red tile roofs of the houses which looked in the distance like miscellaneous piles of red brick, the grim low fortress guarding the harbor and the magnificent Dique de Carnot, which braves the fierce waves of the Atlantic ocean for more than a mile to make possible a safe harbor for large vessels. Over this dike the angry billows of the thwarted ocean were breaking in floods of water and foam fifty feet high, yet there was but a "fresh breeze" (twenty-five miles an hour). What a glorious and terrible sight that dike must be in a storm!

Taking on the pilot was comparatively easy, for the sea was not rough, yet the spluttering tug dipped, rolled and plunged like a crazy thing on the choppy Channel waves and made two efforts to get alongside before the pilot was able to grasp the wiggling ladder and climb up the high ship side.

My first glimpse of the unique, excitable French people at home afforded much amusement. The extreme formality and effusiveness of their courtesy, their bubbling enthusiasm, their vigorous and varied gestures and their peculiarities of costume were very interesting.

Scenes in Holland

That night we slept on the North Sea and morning found us waiting for the tide outside the harbor of Rotterdam. Either side of the river Maas, up which the high tide enabled our big ship to steam, affords a restful and delightful view typical of Holland generally. The fresh green fields lie low above or several feet below the water level at high tide, with small canals dividing the long, narrow fields in which the white and black spotted cows browse for material to produce the milk and cheese for which Holland is famous the world over. The odd, powerful, four-armed windmills give a grotesque, antique appearance to the landscape which is unsurpassingly picturesque. The farm houses nestle snugly down behind green banks among the trees in a manner suggestive of coziness and comfort, and are often covered with thatch instead of tile; and sometimes the thatch is growing green all over the roof, which adds to the charm of view, if not to the health of the occupants. Generally the peasants' houses are extremely small and low, and, with their surrounding trees, grass and flowers, make a beautiful picture. "The artists love to paint them," as Vandervelde says, "but they could not endure to live in them."

Rotterdam is a curious old town with its great and busy harbor, in which the flags of all nations wave; its intersecting canals, numberless bridges, odd buildings, highest of which stands the New York Life, crooked streets and inevitable windmills. I shall never more think of Holland separate from those grotesque old windmills! Moreover, there are trees everywhere, and flowers and grass wherever there is a corner of ground in front yard or back, or a window ledge which will hold them. The neatness and beauty of the yards and houses, with their ever-present flowers, is quite enchanting to one used to the crude, unadorned cities of America, and I noticed all through Holland and Germany that the houses are finished and decorated at the rear as well as at the front. The people, as well as the gods, "see everywhere" in Europe. As our train whirled by mile after mile of the rear of houses in Rotterdam, Utrecht, Dusseldorf, Cologne, etc., and I saw the neat designs in brick, the fresh paint, decorated windows and flowers, it made me sick at heart to think of what one sees from the train entering American cities or from the elevated trains mile after mile in Chicago. On the whole, Holland is the most restful, charming little country on the map. It is so pretty and so cute that one is tempted to steal it and carry it home as a curious souvenir of the trip. (There is no patent on this remark. No doubt a million tourists have repeated it.)

German Peasant Women

In Germany the fields are larger, the peasants' houses better and the country itself looks more like America, with hills, plains and fertile soil. We saw many cutting grain with a hand sickle in the smaller fields; but in a day's ride we saw two self-binders. There is a general air of thrift and comfort. Life is hard; men and women work long for the means of life, but not on account of unfruitful fields or lack of economy on their part.

And the German peasant women break my heart. They throng the city streets by hundreds on market days. They work like mules, go bare-headed in sun and wind and, while nature intended them to be fair and shapely in face and form, they are sunburned like Indians, wrinkled with strain and worry and bent with burdens too heavy to bear. Their lives are dull, dreary and hopeless, but they breed stolid soldiers for the army and so the Emperor is satisfied. As I see women pulling carts like horses, bearing heavy burdens on their heads—especially old women—my heart cries out, "Oh, God! how long?" and I swear I will never make peace with capitalism at any price.

Prayers Sent Home

As we steamed up the river to Rotterdam a great ship of the Holland-American line, the Ryndam, sister to our Potsdam, came down the river bound for New York. Their band played "Welcome," our band played "Goodspeed," and both bands joined in the beautiful national hymn of Holland. Hundreds of people on the Ryndam waved and cheered to us congratulating us on the safe ending of our long voyage, and we waved and cheered good wishes to them, remembering the loneliness and danger of the ocean track over which they must go. And with them went many prayers for the friends and loved ones in America. May God bless you all.

From a Wealthy Man to a Neighbor

Mr. John Smith:

My Dear Sir—The other day someone mentioned to me that you had told him you had always voted Republican and always would; and the same day, oddly enough, another man whom we both know, and who in fact works in the same shop with you, said to my wife that he was a "dyed in the wool" Democrat, and should vote the Democratic ticket as long as he lived.

Putting these two things together, I began to think how curious it all is. Here are you and Jones, both workingmen, both with families to support, and with no means but your wages, both working in the same trade, and therefore having interests identically the same. Yet in politics you pull opposite ways, and so you neutralize each other, and your power of voting which has such a great possibility of value, is wasted, and nothing comes of it which in any way can help you.

You vote Republican. What does that mean? Why, it means just this: that you try to put into office one certain set of politicians called "Republican." Jones votes Democratic. What does that mean? Why, simply that he is trying to put another set of politicians into office, labeled "Democrats," and to keep out the set you favor.

What are these politicians, and what is it that they want to get into office for? Both lots are bright enough fellows—fellows who know the ropes in party work, and, more or less, in the work of the offices, and they want the offices for the sake of the salaries, and the pickings, and the glory. In other words, it is their own interests they are looking out for, and it will be their own interests they will take care of when they are in office. How can either you or Jones possibly imagine that they are thinking about your needs and interests—yours and his—which are the same, or that they will do anything for you when they get into office?

Well, what are your needs? Or, to turn it the other way, what are the things that you two are most afraid of, and with best reason? Being wage workers, the terrible danger that looms ahead of you, that may fall upon you any day, and is almost sure to fall some day, is that of getting out of work and not being able to find another job. That is likely to happen any time when a panic comes, and hard times, caused by some tremendous mistake made by the big business men who run the country, a mistake that you have had no hand in, but of which you will have to suffer the consequences. There is still another black cloud that hangs over you, and that is, that you or your family, or both, may come to want when you get so old that nobody wants you to work for him any longer. It is next to a certainty that this will happen, and what a cruel fate it is—a fate for which you will be no way to blame, since both you and Jones are hard-working, clean-living men.

These are your two great dangers, and your greatest needs are therefore to have a certainty of work as long as you can work, and the certainty of honorable support for yourself and your family after you can work no longer.

Do the Republican politicians who are going to get your vote, or the Democratic politicians who will get Jones' vote, care anything about these needs of yours? Do they discuss them, and try to study out some way of meeting them? You know they do not—they are quite content to have you and Jones go on voting the straight ticket and asking nothing in return. Now, if these great dangers which overhang you and Jones, and at least seventy-five millions of the rest of our people, could not possibly be done away with, you might afford to keep on going to the polls and indulging your fancy for the word "Republican," and Jones his for the word "Democratic"; but, as things are, when you and he and the ten or fifteen million voters like you do that, you are simply putting off the day of your own deliverance. For the two crowds of politicians who run the Republican and Democratic parties are not the only political lights there are; there is a lusty new party in the field—a party which most likely you have heard but little about, and that little probably lies. This new party is known as the "Socialist Party," and it is the particular study and purpose of the Socialists to guarantee every working man work to do at all times, and respectable support when he is too old or too infirm to work.

The argument of these men is simple and it is unanswerable; they say that while the individual working man alone cannot provide security for himself and his family against poverty, all the working men, by combining together for that purpose, and by using the most effective power there is, the power of the State, can establish that security for themselves. That is to say, all together can do for each individual what each cannot do for himself. Nobody has answered this argument—nobody can answer it. The most thorough students of history and economics know it is true; the college professors know it; even I can assure you many of my wealthy friends who run the big businesses of the country know it; and these men all wonder why you workingmen do not grasp the idea and take hold of it, put it into action, and so, once for all, get free from the black cloud that hangs over you.

Isn't this a good reason why you should vote for the Socialists who are running for office? You may say, "Well, I suppose they are like the other crowds of politicians, going in for what there is in it for them, the salaries and the glory." This cannot be true of the Socialist candidates, as you will see if you consider a minute. For certainly a fellow who is "on the make" would hardly have gone into the Socialist party, which is not winning elections, and may not for years to come. No, these men are sincere; they are pledged when they are elected to carry out the plan for abolishing poverty, and even if they are thinking partly of the living they will make out of the offices, they are also thinking of the special work they have promised and are determined to do for you.

Doesn't it strike you as foolish for you and Jones and the millions of other Smiths and Joneses, not to give these men the chance? Are *you* fonder of the Republican politicians than you are of yourself, and do you suppose Jones is fonder of the Democratic politicians than of himself and his wife and children? Then why not stop pulling against each other, and pull together from this on, and so pull the country on towards a decent way of doing the country's work—a way that will do justice to the workers and make them safe from poverty? I can assure you that nothing in the world could make you so respected by the capitalists as such united and sensible action.

You may wonder, neighbor, why I, a rich man, should be so anxious about all this. The fact is, I am tired to death of seeing human beings around me who are victims of this terrible danger of poverty when it could be so easily done away with. Besides, although I am rich, there is some danger even for me, and more for my children after me, and my future and their future would be made perfectly secure, along with that of all my fellow-citizens, if a sensible system of industry were established.

Sincerely yours, Winthrop Richmond.

Richmond Comrades, Attention

Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss will attend the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Richmond, Va., in October, to promote the cause of the Fellowship. He is anxious to get in touch with Christian comrades of Richmond, and requests they write him at once, addressing him at Rome, N. Y.

THE SOCIALIST WOMAN, the only Socialist paper in America devoted wholly to the interests of women. Monthly, 35 cents a year. Send for sample copy. Address The Socialist Woman, 619 E. 55th street, Chicago.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship

Prof. E. J. Ward Secretary, Rochester, N. Y.
Rev. William A. Ward, Treasurer, Henderson, Ky.
National Executive Committee of Fifty Members

Reception for Comrade Carr

Comrades Weeks and Strobell got together last week down in New York City and, as might be expected, a fine proposition resulted. It was that Comrade Carr's return from the Great Convention in Stuttgart be made the occasion for a reception, and for the founding of a branch of the Christian Socialist Fellowship in New York City. The idea is to get together at, say, Amity Hall, 312 West 54th street, shake hands and give greetings all round, sit down to a supper, and then for an hour or so listen to Comrade Carr as he tells of "Socialism and Religion in Europe." It is proposed to have half a dozen ten-minute talks by others, and then to go ahead with the organization of a branch or local center of the Fellowship. It is a great idea and every one of us who is within three hundred miles of New York City should try to be there. The date, of course, cannot be fixed until Comrade Carr writes when he expects to sail, but it will be announced in the next issue of the Christian Socialist, and will probably be some time early in October.

At Utica, Rochester, Buffalo, etc.

Would it not be a good thing for the comrades at Utica, Rochester, Buffalo and other cities along his route to hear directly from the Stuttgart Convention, by arranging to have Comrade Carr stop off and speak in each of these cities as he goes from New York to Chicago? He will be fresh from the convention, full of its inspiration (how full of it you would know if you had received the letter that came to me from him the other day), and it will be a good way to begin the fall work to have him with us for a day. Wake up, Utica and Buffalo and Cleveland; let us hear from you at once.

A Delegate at the Episcopal Convention

The Triennial General Convention of the Episcopal Church is to assemble at Richmond, Virginia, on the 2d of October. We ought to have a delegate at that convention, to present the great opportunity that lies before the church of entering into and helping on the mighty Socialist movement for the regeneration of society, to present the challenge and the call of Socialism to Organized Christianity. We ought to have a delegate there; and, in the Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss of Rome we have the man to send. He is an Episcopal rector. He is also a consecrated Socialist. One of the Rome comrades told me about his refusing a call to a larger church and a larger salary because he chose rather to preach the truth as it is in Jesus and Marx. The above reads as though I were getting ready to ask for funds to send a delegate. No such luck, for Comrade Weeks, that fount of every blessing, has offered to pay the expenses of a delegate. All that is left for us to do is to choose and commission him.

The Women Again

"The enclosed money order for one dollar is to pay my membership dues to the Fellowship. I think the only reason why more women have not joined is because they have not received an invitation." This from Mrs. Addie Davis Fries, of San Diego, Cal., is a sample of the letters that I have been receiving during the last month. She is right. It is up to you, comrade, to pass around invitations. Remember this is not simply a brotherhood, we want our mothers and sisters and wives with us, and we want them to know that we want them.

From a Monist

A sign that we are coming to be understood for what we are, an organization not for forcing any religious creed upon the Socialist movement, but for the propagation of Socialism in the spirit of Jesus, comes in the shape of a letter from Comrade James Hayward, of Peachland, British Columbia. He encloses eight dollars, five for the delegate fund, one for his renewal, and a new subscription and the balance for literature, including Prof. Rauschenbusch's great book. He says, "Let me say I am not a Christian, but I doff my hat to Jesus of Nazareth. I am a Monist; you know the Monists believe in that which is good, beautiful and true. Now, I believe Comrade E. E. C. is a member of this trinity, so I am happy to be able to contribute." Comrade Hayward does not say which of the members of this trinity Comrade Carr personifies. I would say that he partakes of the nature of all three. One of the fine things about our work is that it is bringing people of all sorts of religious names together in unity of purpose and effort.

We Must Work

to increase the circulation of the Socialist press. I have just been reading a garbled, false report of the Stuttgart Congress which appears in one of the capitalist papers. The effect of that sort of reading should be to fire our zeal to increase the circulation of papers that are not prostituted to corporation interests. Let us boom the Chicago Daily and the Worker and the Social Democratic Herald and the Seattle Tribune, the Appeal, and all the rest; but most of all let us hasten the time when the Christian Socialist shall be a weekly. Send in four dollars for ten sub. cards to-day. You will get four dollars worth of enjoyment out of getting rid of them, and the people need this paper.

Yours for a great, united effort,
Edward J. Ward, Secretary.

Items From Everywhere

Edited by George H. Strobell.

When you are asked, "What is Socialism?" be sure that your reply centers in the working class.

The working class—its powers, its interests, its natural program—if in control of government—is the key to all Socialist theory and practice.

Socialism is the awakening of the workers of the world, first, to a sense of their power, when united, in the political field; second, to the knowledge that by the use of their ballot they can institute a just economic system; third, to the active exercise of their power by the election of members of their own class to official position. That this awakening is inevitable is acknowledged by all.

Rent, interest and profit are the means by which the producers are exploited. Necessarily, then, these will not be allowed by a dominant working class. As the public or co-operative ownership and operation of industry is the only sensible way these three methods of exploitation can be permanently abolished, a working class administration will, by very necessity, begin to take out of the hands of the trusts and monopolies, by purchase or otherwise, those industries, by the ownership of which a few men have enslaved mankind. The transportation monopolies, the telegraph business, oil, sugar, etc., would probably be the first to be taken over. While the working class would be doing this, attention would also be turned toward securing just, pure and efficient administration of affairs. The initiative and referendum and the right of recall would be added to our representative system and our present irresponsible judges subjected to the power of public opinion by short elective terms. As one by one the present great corrupting agencies were made part of the co-operative administration, it would gain in purity and efficiency.

"An aroused working class will refuse to tolerate not only robbery, but economic dependence. Collective production will allow economic freedom for all by guaranteeing employment to all. A working class society will own its own tools as a means to an end, and that end is the overthrow of wage slavery, with its robbery and its dependence. The program of Socialism is thus part and parcel of the social force by which it is to be introduced—the political and economic power of a united working class, conscious of its power, its interests and its historic mission."

* * *

The telegraphers' strike may or may not be settled when this meets your eyes. But it aroused a chain of thought that was brought on by a private letter of a friend advising me to invest in the stock of the "wireless" companies. He assured me that the last difficulty had been disposed of, and that the big men were taking it in. And now here is this strike apparently forced on the men. Will it lead to a great outcry for public ownership? Of course. Was that anticipated by the capitalists? How could they help but anticipate such a demand? How carefully and smoothly the possibilities of friction with the railroad telegraphers have been met. The companies are ready to sell the government a gold brick. Well, they will start a demand that will never be satisfied until the co-operative commonwealth comes.

* * *

The proceedings of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart will no doubt form a large part of this issue direct from Comrade Carr, and yet I would call attention to these words of Comrade Simons in the Daily Socialist:

One of the most striking changes that has taken place in the international Socialist movement during the past five years has been the general consolidation of forces.

At previous congresses divided delegations have been so frequent as to demand a large percentage of the time in settling their difficulties.

France, which for years has been the favorite illustration to show the factional character of the great working class movement, comes this year with a solid delegation representing one great party. No longer do Guesde, Lafargue, Jaures, Allman and others glower across tables at one another or pour forth denunciations. All are working together, side by side, for a common cause.

Another thing: Previous congresses have spent much of their time over questions of theory and fundamental principles. Scarcely a trace of these conflicts remains to mar the proceedings at Stuttgart. Nothing is heard of "Revisionism" or "Bernsteinism."

Few, if any, delegates come with the idea of reforming the fundamentals of the Socialist philosophy.

After having been fought out in tens of thousands of local gatherings, after having filled countless pages of pamphlets, brochures and reviews, after having divided national parties and torn with dissension international gatherings, all these questions have at last been laid aside. It will not quite do to claim that they are settled, for they may still rise to vex the souls of the workers. But that they will never again occupy the prominent position they have held in the past is certain.

No one cares to-day whether the method of "disappearance of the middle class" and the "process of concentration" has proceeded exactly according to the laws laid down by Marx. The trust is here—the working class confronts the capitalist class with no buffer middle class between, and the class war is on.

The problems before the congress are therefore those that affect present actions and not those concerned with past theories.

How shall the workers deal with the great mass movements of labor power which we call emigration and immigration—with coolies in South Africa, Kanakas in Australia and contract labor and strike breakers everywhere? How can the political and economic organizations of the workers, the Socialist parties and the trades unions best combine their forces in the battles of the class struggle? How can the rights of women be obtained which are necessary to enable them to fight effectively beside their brothers, husbands and sons in these same battles?

These are the questions that occupy the attention of the international Socialist congress.

This change of attitude is significant. It indicates that the struggle for freedom is in its last victorious stages. Labor now knows what it wants. It knows in general how to get it. It only remains to plan the immediate campaign and fight the battles. With the resistless strength of the workers this is only a question of how best to apply that strength. When that has been decided victory is within sight.

* * *

A dispatch to the New York World reports that the Czar is planning to dismiss the Parliament of Finland as summarily as he dissolved the Russian Douma, and that he objects especially to the nineteen women members, who disapprove of all his plans to Russianize Finland by force. Premier Stolypin is reported in the same dispatch as expressing similar distrust of Finland. He said, "I have always been fearful of trouble from this Switzerland nearby our capital." The less in sympathy with the Czar's autocratic ideas the women of Finland are, the better fitted they are for voters in a modern and civilized nation.

* * *

Frightened by the victories of the Labor-Socialist combination in electing two members to Parliament in successive special elections, the Liberal government party accepted Albert Stanley, a workingman, as its candidate in a third bye-election that has just been held in the northwest district of Staffordshire. The Labor-Socialist combine did not stack up a candidate and Stanley won over his Tory opponent by the unprecedented majority of 2,349. It is claimed that Stanley is an aggressive fellow and will refuse to be held in line by the Liberal bosses where labor interests are at stake. Usually the Liberal-Labor members in the House of Commons vote with the Labor-Socialist group. In fact, the unions have given the former to understand that nothing less is expected from them. Aside from the personal triumph of Stanley, the moral victory is great from a working class standpoint. It shows that the politicians are now willing to respect labor and even give up some of their offices. That Labor government in Great Britain is not so far off. Just keep an eye on the Jonnie Bulls awhile longer.

The first State election in Oklahoma takes place Sept. 17. A complete Socialist ticket is in the field and a vigorous campaign is being made. The Socialists expect a great increase in the vote, despite the fact that Secretary Taft is attempting to curb radicalism. This State comes into the Union with 241 Socialist locals, of which 235 were in good standing at the end of July.

Oklahoma is next to the top in the list of States that receive the Appeal to Reason, the Chicago Daily Socialist, Wilshire's Magazine and other revolutionary publications.

Its constitution, affected by this radical reading, is one of the most progressive in the United States, and President Roosevelt, the entire Republican party and all big combinations of wealth are in a conspiracy to kill it and prevent Oklahoma from becoming a State.

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The New York Evening Post, in a rational moment, remarks:

"As every fair minded student of our public life must admit, the Socialist party has its lessons and its warnings for other political parties. It has a program both idealistic and utilitarian, and is a standing rebuke to those partisans who think of offices as a good in themselves, not as a means of doing the public business efficiently and benefiting the community. No sensible man will let Socialism alarm him; but if it can teach him anything, why, what is he here for except to learn? As between Bourbon and Socialist, the choice might not favor the former."

"We are told that if Socialism was to come a few men would soon be in control of things again. This is because Socialism is not understood. Under Socialism the right of every man to an interest in the machinery of production and distribution would be non-forfeitable. It would be as with the socialized roads or school houses—no man can forfeit his right to use them, and no man can get a 'controlling interest' in them."

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"Some of the capitalist papers continue to print the falsehood to the effect that Eugene Schmitz, the convicted mayor of San Francisco, is a Socialist. With this for a text, they preach to their readers, telling them that Socialism leads to dishonesty, is opposed to the church, and would break up families, etc. Eugene Schmitz is a Republican in politics and a Roman Catholic in religion. Abraham Reuf, his long-time legal adviser and alleged 'boss,' is a Republican in politics and a Jew in religion. There is a large Catholic and Jewish population in San Francisco. The Rev. Peter C. Yorke, an eloquent Catholic priest, had great influence with many thousand voters. He was an ardent advocate of Schmitz's candidacy. The anti-Socialist trade union men helped to swing their unions for his nomination and support and three times this combination won. At every election the Socialists had a full ticket in the field and did all they could to defeat this combination."

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"It is not a new discovery on the part of Professors Bushnell and Zeublin that the trusts are bound to bring Socialism. They both knew it years ago. What they have really discovered is that the public will stand being told it."

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The International Socialist Bureau reports the following number of Socialist representatives in the national parliaments of the several countries mentioned: Germany, 43; Argentine, 1; British Columbia, 3; Finland, 80; France, 50; Holland, 6; Luxemburg, 7; Servia, 1; Switzerland, 2; Austria, 87; Belgium, 30; Denmark, 28; England, 31; Italy, 25; Norway, 10; Sweden, 15.

Current Literature

Edited by Rufus W. Weeks

A new monthly paper, "The Kingdom," has appeared as organ of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, and it will be read by socialistically disposed Christians with great interest. The Brotherhood is now of fifteen years' standing, and is a society to which its members are very warmly attached. Its character thus far has rather been devotional and self-disciplinary than militant, as may be judged from the opening sentences of its Statement of Aims, adopted in 1893:

"1. Every member shall by his personal life exemplify obedience to the ethics of Jesus.

2. He shall propagate the thoughts of Jesus to the limits of his ability, in private conversation, by correspondence, and through pulpit, platform and press.

3. He shall lay special stress on the social aims of Christianity, and shall endeavor to make Christ's teaching concerning wealth operative in the church.

4. On the other hand he shall take pains to keep in contact with the common people; and to infuse the religious spirit into the efforts for social amelioration.

5. The members shall seek to strengthen the bond of Brotherhood by frequent meetings for prayer and discussion, by correspondence, exchange of articles written, etc."

Without giving up its peculiar quality of heart-religion, the Brotherhood is now entering upon a new and more active phase: it is organizing local chapters; it is striving through the new paper to become known to sympathetic persons throughout the country; and it is moving forward to a more definite basis for social propaganda. The most advanced statement of social faith in the first number of "The Kingdom" is contained in the opening editorial paragraph.

"The Brotherhood of the Kingdom seeks to unite men whose hearts are open to God's future. It seeks to combine in an organic unity the great aims which our generation is seeking to comprehend and to realize: the purer and deeper intercourse of the spirit of man with the Father in heaven; the truer interpretation of the Bible and of all the religious history of our race; the fellowship of all who share the spirit of Christ; the increasing unity of the Christian churches; the application of the ethical principles of Jesus to the social as well as the individual life; and the consequent reconstruction of industry and commerce on the basis of justice, solidarity and co-operation."

Believing, as we do, that the "reconstruction of industry and commerce on the basis of justice, solidarity and co-operation" has as its indispensable means the socialist political movement, we are confident that militant socialism will eventually receive substantial aid from a society heartily supporting the aim so formulated. And as we Christian Socialists give the hand of comradeship whole-heartedly to the men of the party, regardless of their attitude toward Christianity, so, on the other side, we ought to extend the hand of brotherhood unreservedly to those in the churches who are seeking social light and are letting the light they have found shine. The Brotherhood of the Kingdom is the corporate representative of these brethren; it includes in its membership several who also belong to the Christian Socialist Fellowship,—in fact, two of the founders of the Brotherhood, Rev. Leighton Williams, D. D., and Prof. Rauschenbusch, are of our Executive Committee; and it would seem that any member of the Fellowship might join the Brotherhood, and might get and give good in doing so, even as he does in joining the Socialist Party.

The annual subscription to "The Kingdom" is fifty cents, and should be sent to Rev. Wm. H. Gardner, New Haven, Conn.

Comrades of the Cross

We are glad our subscribers are taking advantage of our offer to get the Chicago Daily Socialist. We are expecting a great many more to do so. This offer is good only outside of Chicago.

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Mrs. T. Gudenrath, a W. C. T. U. woman and Socialist, of Tennessee, sent for one hundred Willard booklets to distribute at a fair in her city. Every W. C. T. U. woman would be a Socialist if she believed what Miss Willard said about Socialism. What a pity the W. C. T. U. is so far behind its greatest leader. This great organization needs to be converted to the gospel of Socialism. Where are the women that will try to do this?

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The several hundred extras of September 1st issue went rapidly.

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E. G. Stranahan, of Ohio; T. J. Hinton, of California, and C. N. Cornelius, of Oregon, have just ordered good sized bundles for propaganda.

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F. E. Cobb, of Massachusetts, who has already distributed hundreds of copies of the Christian Socialist, sends an order for twenty copies each issue for a year. Just think how many Socialists those papers will make and how many new subs. will be the result!

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B. F. Dreitzler, of Ohio, sends for ten sub. cards and says he wants to do all he can for the good cause.

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Faithful John G. Soldan, of Michigan, and Chas. A. Byrd, of Texas, each send for five sub. cards. They have both been working for the Christian Socialist for a long time.

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We are delighted with the clubs coming in. C. H. Rohrer, of Chicago Heights; Mrs. Mariette L. Johnson, of Mississippi; C. C. Hale, of Washington, each sent one, and W. P. Bickley, of Texas, sent two clubs. This makes fifteen subs. for him in the last few weeks. We hope many other comrades will fall into line.

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Albert Smith, of New York, seems to know the secret of getting subscriptions to the Christian Socialist. He has recently sent us nine new subs. and in the list is a Roman Catholic, a captain and a superintendent of a mission in the south.

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"Dear Comrades:—Local Philadelphia's picnic last Saturday was a great success in every way, and one of the ways was 'The Christian Socialist' exhibit. Comrades Leypoldt and myself were on hand with over one hundred sample copies. We had a large placard inviting the reader to subscribe for the Christian Socialist, 'the paper that will reach the church members.' Our placard was tacked to a large tree, and on all sides of the tree were tacked different numbers of the C. S. so that no matter which direction one approached he was sure to see the C. S. The number of subscriptions taken was a little disappointing, there being only two. But nine-tenths, or I guess ninety-eight one hundredths of the people had never heard of the C. S. before, and the sample copies were eagerly sought and by the time evening began to come on they were all gone, and requests for more were being made. There was much favorable comment from the comrades, and many expressions of surprise that there was such a paper in existence. And several promised to subscribe later. We hope much good may come from thus advertising the C. S. Yours fraternally, J. P. Brown." All we ask, comrades, is for you to sow the good seed. The harvest will come in due time. You have certainly done well and your reward will come soon.

Look at Your Name-Tag

Look at the address-tag on your paper and see if your subscription is about expired. If so, please send your renewal at once and save loss at both ends of the line. Thus you will save us the trouble and expense of sending out notices, which cost a great deal in the aggregate, and you will also save yourself the loss of any numbers of the paper. Keep your subscription paid up ahead. It is best all around.

Letter from Rufus W. Weeks to a Friend

Paris, July 9, 1907.

I have got a new and vivid impression of the fact that there are two classes of minds, corresponding to two opposite feelings of what life consists of. The most of men say it consists in the things that happen to us from day to day, the things we do, the items of enjoyment or suffering. A few only say No, it consists in one continuous spiritual reality, which is out of sight behind the events. And these few do really live in that serene consciousness—their life *is* "hid with Christ in God."

In England I came across two men of that type—one of them is certainly and organically so, the other seems so, but it may be only that he endeavors after it. The first, Richard Heath, is a true prophet, in the Bible sense; he is a white-haired man of 75, all his mind intensely wrapped up in the race-sufferings of mankind, in the age-long struggle of Christ to free the poor. I went out to the moors of Surrey to see him—certainly not a reed shaken with the wind. I caught sight of him coming toward me across the green grass between the low thickets on the upland, near the sky it seemed, a slight man, with silky white hair blown by the wind, and he looked with such a look and he spoke with such a tone, such unconsciousness of self, such absorption in our common theme, and in its historic sweep, past and future, and gentle ardency for the worship by all of Christ the Son of Poverty, that I felt I had found the best of all men to know.

The other of the type is Reginald John Campbell, minister of the City Temple, the chief Congregational church in London, tall and slender, pale-faced, with wavy masses of light-gray hair, large cavernous eyes, and a look of profound sadness. His theme was an odd one to speak on to that vast congregation of business men and their families: "Do you wish to be happy, or, at least, serene? Forget all about the I, I, I; get the consciousness that God alone is real, that all your real life is your life as part of God." This man has been re-stating theology in terms of the immanence of God, and has brought all the hornets out of the old theology-nest about his ears. As he puts his view, the oneness of man is the same truth as the oneness of God. My special interest in him lies in his discovering and proclaiming that Socialism is a corollary of his main proposition; and his frank and courageous aligning of himself with the Labor Party.

As to the two attitudes towards life that I began with, I suspect that they are complementary, not exclusive of each other. For nearly all of us of the Occident at least it is mere pretence to say or try to think that we don't care what happens to us day by day. The Stoic Philosophy of Antoninus and his like is little more than a pose; we do care, and care intensely, and it is a necessary part of the life of the race that we should care. But for those privileged few who do have some access to the other phase of life, it opens a precious door of escape from the tyranny of the daily life; a glimpse into a lighted land of eternal hope. In our time of the strenuous struggle with material means for material ends, if there is any way to cultivate, in those of the young who have any of the faculty of escape into the spiritual, the habit of such escape from time to time, it ought to be done, as a resource for their later years.

Thoughts from Marcus Aurelius

I have been reading the thoughts of Marcus Aurelius, and I come upon these words which I have never seen quoted from him.

"We are made for co-operation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth. To act against one another, then, is contrary to nature."

"My nature is rational and social; and my city and my country, so far as I am Antonius, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world. The things then which are useful to these cities are alone useful to me."

Here in the words of an emperor who persecuted the Christians, an Emperor of decadent Rome, we see the bright gleam of that Social Ideal which has been the light, and which shall yet drive away the world's darkness. E. J. W.